

Mr. REID. Three hours and 15 minutes. Now it is about 3 ½ hours.

Mr. BYRD. And I am only on page 3 of page 4. Well, that is just a start. As John Paul Jones said, "We have just begun to fight."

I have in my pocket the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence. Once I finished page 4 tonight, I intended to start reading the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States to follow.

Mr. REID. I say to my friend, I do not think he would have to read it, would he?

Mr. BYRD. I think reading it makes it better.

Mr. REID. Does not the Senator have that memorized anyway?

Mr. BYRD. I know something about the Constitution, but I will save that for another day. I have a number of poems which I would be glad to quote even though these old legs are getting tired. Shall I quote one?

Mr. REID. I personally would like to hear a poem.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I never was a show-off so I am not going to quote any poetry tonight. That would be showing off. I just wanted the Senator to know I could quote some poems. I can read the Constitution and comment on it as I go along. I can read the Declaration of Independence. I can read the Bible. I can read Milton's "Paradise Lost." I could read Carlyle's "History of the French Revolution." I could even read Daniel Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe." Just because my legs are hurting and I am growing quite frail and my voice is a little weak, I am not quite ready to say, well, they have the votes and let us quit.

I thank the distinguished Democratic whip. The Senator knows I am getting tired, which is the reason I am not saying things just right.

Let me see if there is anything else for which I need consent. I believe not, but it is my understanding that I will be recognized when the Senate next returns to the homeland security legislation. I thank the Chair and I thank the whip.

I yield the floor.

Mr. REID. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I do not think a good steward would want to leave his job unfinished quite so abruptly. I do have a half page of my prepared remarks to read. I do not like to put items in the RECORD, so, if I may, I ask unanimous consent that again this not be counted as a second speech.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. By requiring Senate confirmation of this new Director of the National Office for Combating Terrorism, Congress will ensure that its concerns over the implementation of homeland security strategy will not be subordinated to the political agenda of the White House.

Remember, we are not just talking about a Director of Homeland Security under the Bush administration. We are not just talking about a Director of Homeland Security under a Republican administration. There can very well come a time there will be a Director of Homeland Security under a Democratic administration, and I hope the Senators will see the wisdom in looking forward to a time when the worm will turn, the wheel will turn, and there will be a Democrat in the White House.

I am thinking of Senate confirmation as something that will be important under a Democratic administration as well as under a Republican administration, as important to the people of this country under a Democratic President as under a Republican President, under Mr. Bush. For the moment, it is a Republican President. A thousand years is but a day in God's reach. And there will probably be a Department of Homeland Security after my life on this globe has run its span.

The war against terrorism may not end soon. It may go on and on. Who knows? The President himself has said it will not be quick, it will not be easy, and it will not be short. Therefore, it is not difficult to imagine that there will come a day when there will be a Democratic President in the White House, and I say that my Republicans friends, when that time comes, will be glad if we in our day have required the Director of Homeland Security to be confirmed by the Senate.

So we are not legislating for a day, a week, or the remaining 2 years of this Republican administration. We are debating and acting for a long time.

Once this is on the statute books, it is not easy to change it because a President can veto a change. If Congress sees the unwisdom of its ways today and seeks to change the statute books, maybe a President in the White House would veto that bill if it came to his desk. So its easier, in a way, to make a law than it is to change a law, in some instances. We had better do it right the first time, rather than just do it fast. Do it right. That is what I am seeking to do.

Even when the President's advisers want to conceal the agency mismanagement or shift public focus toward a war with Iraq, Congress can make sure that the Director's job is getting done because Congress can ask him directly. So I tell my colleagues that I understand their desire to style the statutory office by yielding to the urge that I know some Members do.

Let's do it right. There may be a different administration, maybe a different party at the White House, Mr. Bush may not be at the White House at

that time, I may not be at my desk. Let's do it right. Let's do it the way we ought to do it. If the war on terror is to be with us a long time, a Director of Homeland Security will be with us a long time, and Tom Ridge, if he is to be the Director in the future, even he may be gone and another Director may stand in his stead. Think about that. It is more than just a thought in passing.

I thank my friend from Nevada. I thank all Senators. I thank the wonderful people who have to man the desks up there. I thank the Presiding Officer, I thank the pages, the security personnel, the Doorkeepers and all. They have had to wait and listen. They are doing their job. I thank them and I apologize to them, in a way. I apologize for having delayed them to their places of abode.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, my statement has to undergo some interruption because of the colloquy between Mr. REID and myself. But the little remainder that I just read just now, I hope it will be understood from those who read the RECORD, that was the closing part of a previously prepared speech, and I hope they will keep that in mind when they read all parts of it in the RECORD. I would not ask it be joined directly with the first part, because of that colloquy.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to a period of morning business, with Senators allow to speak for a period not to exceed 5 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### IRAQ

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. President, as a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee, I firmly believe that the issue of Iraq is not about politics. It's about national security. We know that for at least 20 years, Saddam Hussein has aggressively and obsessively sought weapons of mass destruction through every means available. We

know that he has chemical and biological weapons today. He has used them in the past, and he is doing everything he can to build more. Each day he inches closer to his longtime goal of nuclear capability—a capability that could be less than a year away.

I believe that Saddam Hussein's Iraqi regime represents a clear threat to the United States, to our allies, to our interests around the world, and to the values of freedom and democracy we hold dear.

Saddam has proven his willingness to act irrationally and brutally against his neighbors and against his own people. Iraqi's destructive capacity has the potential to throw the entire Middle East into chaos, and poses a mortal threat to our vital ally, Israel.

What's more, the terrorist threat against America is all too clear. Thousands of terrorist operatives around the world would pay anything to get their hands on Saddam's arsenal, and there is every possibility that he could turn his weapons over to these terrorists. No one can doubt that if the terrorists of September 11 had had weapons of mass destruction, they would have used them. On September 12, 2002, we can hardly ignore the terrorist threat, and the serious danger that Saddam would allow his arsenal to be used in aid of terror.

Iraq has continued to develop its arsenal in defiance of the collective will of the international community, as expressed through the United Nations Security Council. It is violating the terms of the cease-fire that ended the Gulf War and ignoring as many as 16 U.N. Security Council resolutions—including 11 resolutions concerning Iraq's efforts to develop weapons of mass destruction.

These U.N. resolutions are not unilateral American demands. They involve obligations Iraq has undertaken to the international community. By ignoring them, Saddam Hussein is undermining the credibility of the United Nations, openly violating international law, and making a mockery of the very idea of international collective action which is so important to the United States and our allies.

The time has come for decisive action. With our allies, we must do whatever is necessary to guard against the threat posed by an Iraq armed with weapons of mass destruction, and under the thumb of Saddam Hussein. The United States must lead an international effort to remove the regime of Saddam Hussein and to assure that Iraq fulfills its obligations to the international community.

This is not an easy decision, and it carries many risks. It will also carry costs, certainly in resources, and possibly in lives. After careful consideration, I believe that the risk of inaction is far greater than the risk of action.

As we set out on this course, we must be as conscious of our special responsibility as we are confident in the rightness of our cause.

The United States has a special role of leadership in the international community. As America and its allies move down this path, we must do so in a way that preserves the legitimacy of our actions, enhances international consensus, and strengthens our global leadership.

First, this means making the strongest possible case to the American people about the danger Saddam poses. Months of mixed messages, high-level speculation and news-leaks about possible military plans have caused widespread concern among many Americans and around the world.

I am encouraged that the President has overruled some of his advisors and decided to ask for the support of Congress. From the support of Congress, this effort will derive even greater and more enduring strength.

Second, the Administration must do as much as possible to rally the support of the international community under the mandate of the United Nations Security Council. We should tap into the strengths of existing alliances like NATO to enforce such a mandate. And let me be clear: America's allies deserve more than just token consultation. The Bush administration must make a full-court press to rally global support, much like the impressive effort President Bush's father made to rally the first international coalition against Saddam in the fall of 1990. If they do, I believe they will succeed.

If, however, the United Nations Security Council is prevented from supporting this effort, then we must act with as many allies as possible to ensure that Iraq meets its obligations to existing Security Council resolutions. After all, that's what the U.S. and its NATO allies did during the 1999 war in Kosovo, when a U.N. Security Council resolution was impossible.

Third, we must be honest with the American people about the extraordinary commitment this task entails. It is likely to cost us much in the short-term, and it is certain to demand our attention and commitment for the long-haul. We have to show the world that we are prepared to do what it takes to help rebuild a post-Saddam Iraq and give the long-suffering Iraqi people the chance to live under freedom.

Working with our allies, we have to be prepared to deal with the consequences of success—helping to provide security inside Iraq after Saddam is gone, working with the various Iraqi opposition groups in shaping a new government, reassuring Iraq's neighbors about its future stability, and supporting the Iraqi people as they rebuild their lives. This is a massive undertaking, and we must pursue it with no illusions.

Ensuring that Iraq complies with its commitments to the international community is the mission of the moment. Rebuilding Iraq and helping it evolve into a democracy at peace with itself and its neighbors will be the mission of many years.

Unfortunately, the administration's record to date gives me cause for concern. They must not make the same mistakes in post-Saddam Iraq that they are making in post-Taliban Afghanistan, where they have been dangerously slow in making the real commitment necessary to help democracy take root and flourish.

Finally, the administration must show that its actions against Iraq are part of a broader strategy to strengthen American security around the world.

We must address the most insidious threat posed by weapons of mass destruction—the threat that comes from the ability of terrorists to obtain them. We must do much more to support the many disarmament programs already in place to dismantle weapons and prevent access to weapons-grade materials in Russia and the former Soviet states; we must fully fund Nunn-Lugar; and we should work hard to forge international coalition to prevent proliferation.

We must be fully and continuously engaged to help resolve the crisis between Israel and the Palestinians. Disengagement was a mistake. The United States cannot deliver peace to the parties, but no agreement is possible without our active involvement.

We also must have a national strategy for energy security, working to strengthen relationships with new suppliers and doing more to develop alternative sources of power.

And we must do far more to promote democracy throughout the Arab world. We should examine our overall engagement in the entire region, and employ the same kinds of tools that we used to win the battle of ideas fought during the Cold War, from vigorous public diplomacy to assistance for democratic reform at the grassroots.

The path of confronting Saddam is full of hazards. But the path of inaction is far more dangerous. This week, a week where we remember the sacrifice of thousands of innocent Americans made on 9/11, the choice could not be starker. Had we known that such attacks were imminent, we surely would have used every means at our disposal to prevent them and take out the plotters. We cannot wait for such a terrible event—or, if weapons of mass destruction are used, one far worse—to address the clear and present danger posed by Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

#### SEPTEMBER 11 REMEMBRANCE

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, yesterday we marked the anniversary of one of the most horrific events in our Nation's history. On September 11 of last year, without provocation or warning, extremists took control of four of our planes and used them as weapons of destruction against us to cowardly take from our lives our friends and neighbors, our mothers and fathers, and our sons and daughters.

As we watched those events unfold, during the subsequent rescue attempts,